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THE STRONG MAN: A CARTOON FOR LABOUR DAY
May. "Yes, there can be no doubt about your strength if you can support all those; but don't you think it's time to take a holiday?"

TWO MAY DAYS

By Bela Kun

("Pravda," May 1st, 1918).

One is the First of May of the victorious proletariat, already organised as the ruling class. It is the holiday of the proletariat which is being attacked on all sides by world capitalism, which sees in it the greater danger. . . . But this holiday already celebrates a victory over the Russian capitalist class, and heralds the final victory over the capitalists of the whole world. Of the propertied classes we make no demand but this: to disappear, and as quickly as possible; but we make this First of May demand of Imperialism the world over.

Such is the First of May in every corner of the Russian Federal Soviet Republic—the First of May of the proletariat which has attained dictatorship.

Miserable slaves, groaning under the scourge, wretched beings, threatened by the sword and the rod; proletarians living in constant deadly fear, seeing nothing before them, but the Imperialist slaughter—such is the First of May of the proletariat of other countries. . . . They are celebrating the international holiday of proletarian solidarity in the trenches and dugouts, like primitive men, who lived in caverns. . . .

This picture is supplemented by another, serving as a background for the first. The First of May of the workers, employed in different branches of war work, enslaved living under the threat of the lash and the knife of the capitalist class. . . .

With their own hands they are turning out the weapons of murder and destruction, the weapons of their own oppression. Crushed by military and police oppression, drunk with the intoxicating flattery of their own traitor leaders, overwhelmed by want and remorse for their treachery they begin to revolt: for they are the forerunners of revolution. . . .

There are two May Days: one the holiday of the proletariat which has never abandoned its thoughts of the revolution, the other the holiday of the workers who have renounced the revolutionary methods of the proletarian movement. . . .

The seeds of these two kinds of May Day were sown as far back as 1889. At Paris there were sitting in reality two international congresses at the time when the First of May became an international holiday. One of these parallel congresses was even then composed of the opportunist working-class leaders, whose lower middle-class minds were never able to understand the revolution, who could never clearly picture to themselves the final liberation of the proletariat from the yoke of the capitalist class. The leaders of this congress were the French Possibilists and Hyndman, who, in the end, became the servant of English Imperialism. The other congress was sitting under the spiritual guidance of Frederick Engels, then still alive. This was a different kind of Labor Congress, which in effect began the international May Day holiday, as the first, if

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May Day Celebrations Social and Dance Saturday, May 1st,
RALLY, Sunday, May 2nd, **A.S.P. Hall, Liverpool Street**

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RAY EVERITT, Managing Editor.

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War on the Unborn

By MARCIA.

The time has gone by, if indeed it ever existed, when the different evils which, vampire like, suck the lifeblood of society, are spoken of with bated breath, and are not mentioned aloud in polite company. Such mock modesty is only flimsy hypocrisy. Everybody knows that vice, disease and prostitution exist; they accept them as a matter of course; but they must be ignored as inevitable ills; their ravages and enormities covered up. Society proceeded on the even tenor of its way, raising its eyebrows when such objectionable subjects are even mooted.

Those of us, however, who realise our class position in society are not content to simply ignore and accept these things; there is a cause for them, and there is a cure. It is the task of the Socialist to drag these horrors out of the vile haunts they inhabit, into the daylight, to portray them in all their hideousness, and to point out the way to crush them out for ever.

Many people there are, who, as I have said, while realising that certain ills do exist, have no conception of their spread or of their details, and we have to fearlessly proclaim these things from the housetops. We have nothing to be ashamed of in so doing; the only shame consists of the fact that so many plague spots live and flourish in what is known as civilised society.

To-day in every capitalist country, there is the cry for more children, increased population and increased production.

"Breed and work," cry the master-class, and, of course, from their viewpoint it is quite natural. The enormous loss of life incident on the war makes them tremble for their future army of wage-slaves—hence their anxiety for more infants.

But the point is that while the dominant class under the present system is crying for an increase in the population, the system itself has developed to such an extent, and conditions under it are so vile, that it is crushing the slave class to the dust and making deadly war on the unborn.

Let us see how.

First of all, we have to fully realise that in order to ensure a perfectly physically and mentally healthy child, we have to begin not from the time when it is born, but during the nine months before it is born.

The environment of the mother during pregnancy, is of the greatest importance to the future well-being of her child.

And what are the surroundings of the average working-class woman during pregnancy? They have been reiterated times without number.

Hard work and poverty, worry for fear of being unable to meet expenses when the time comes, insufficient food, frequently unemployment and sometimes even working in the industries themselves,

At the time of confinement itself, insufficient attention, and often ruination for life.

It is an established fact that complications taking place at the birth of the first child, more often than not either prevent any further children being born, or cause them to be weak and sickly.

How many women have had still-born babies, through bending over sewing machines? How many infants have come into the world deformed through the mothers carrying heavy burdens? How many children to-day are going through life with shattered nerves and feeble brains through their mothers' mental worry and trouble before their birth?

The whole conditions surrounding the working class mother are such that make it impossible for her children to have a chance. Circumstances are fighting against them before they are born.

In this connection we must not forget venereal disease which is responsible for so many infant disorders. Here again the system which breeds immorality, prostitution and vice is waging its inexcusable war against the unborn.

Let us now take another phase of the subject.

It is an unfortunate fact that however much it may be shielded and kept in the background, the number of women who endeavor to bring on premature births by illegal operations or by dosing themselves with certain chemical substances is increasing daily.

At one time these practices were confined chiefly to those unfortunate girls who were unmarried, and consequently were anxious to hide the results of their indiscretion.

Frequently being deserted by the father of their child and being thrown on the world to get their own living, terror and economic pressure forced them to resort to such measures.

And that, of course, exists to-day, but women who are safe in the bonds of wedlock also endeavor to limit their families in this way. And Bebel points out clearly that it is not "heedless or unconscious" women who do this; it is often conscientious women who "prefer to undergo the dangers of abortion" to burdening themselves and their husbands with children they cannot afford to keep or to bring up decently.

It is not that women wish to avoid the natural pangs of child-birth. "The troubles of troublesome pregnancy and child-birth are infinitely less than the sufferings consequent upon artificial abortion," says Dr. Ed. Reich, but anything is better than the miseries and worries of the arrival of a child into poverty.

The statements by one of the witnesses in the basic wage commission, amply prove the struggles of the working-class mothers and their inability to even provide the barest necessities for the expected child.

So driven by the "ghost of unemployment and the terror of poverty," the unborn babies receive their death sentence and prospective mothers risk their own lives in order to—kill their own children.

These practices also exist among the wealthy class. Abnormal wealth is as injurious as abnormal poverty, and for it all we must blame the wretched conditions under which he lives.

The insecurity of the wages system, the struggle for existence growing harder every day wages on the unborn and will continue to wage it while that system exists.

The master class may try by all means in their power to persuade the working-class to breed more slaves for his use. But the existing conditions are mightier than he, and they will force the latter to endeavor to limit their families and condemn their unborn children to death.

Our hope lies in the fact that these same conditions will keep grinding down the proletariat until they force him to take the final plunge into the waters of Revolution, from whence society shall emerge cleansed of its moral leprosy, and a new order will create conditions under which the mothers of the race will take their proper place and the unborn child will be carefully tended and nurtured in order that the welfare of future generations may be assured.

Under the new social system "every child that is born (writes Bebel), be it male or female, is a welcome addition to society. Society sees therein the prospect of its own perpetuity, of its own further development. It, therefore, also realises the duty of providing for the new being according to its best powers. The first object of its attention must, consequently, be the one that gives birth to the new being—the mother."

This is borne out in Russia to-day, and should set an example to the proletariat of all lands to speed the day when they likewise shall cast off the shackles and be free.

TWO MAY DAYS.

Continued from front page

still a weak, attempt at proletarian mass action.

The two congresses united; and the spirit of Engels uniting with that of the first congress, in consequence, underwent a process of gradual corruption.

Two May Days were created. On the one hand, meaningless demonstrations; on the other, demonstrations with a new meaning, calling for a revolutionary struggle against militarism in addition to the old struggle for an eight-hour working day.

The spiritual heirs of the international congress of Possibilists and Hyndmans intended not only to distort the meaning of May Day, but even to bring about its disappearance. The Legiens and Bernsteins of various countries—the Trade Union bureaucrats and the revisionists—sought to efface the very memory of revolutionary tendencies in the Labor movement. And when the trustified unions of Imperialist enterprises began to use the anti-militarist May Day demonstrations as a pretext for dismissing the demonstrating workers, the official "leaders" of the working-class began trying to adapt both themselves and the Labor movement to the Nationalist requirements of Imperialism—thereby condemning the First of May to extinction.

The two May Day holidays which are celebrated at the present time arose out of the two sides of the Labor movement described above. One has resulted in the solemn celebration of the victorious revolution by the Russian proletariat; the other has brought only the trenches, the holiday of a proletariat collapsing under the police lash.

To-day's May Day is throwing light upon the shattered Labor movement. The old International, the first act of which was the introduction of this international holiday, has fallen asunder. In all the countries of the Imperialist world there has appeared a differentiation between the revolutionary proletariat and the social-traitors. The powerful working-class organisations have split: on one side, the revolutionaries; on the other, the men who desire to remain slaves.

This cleft in the Labor movement is a pledge of the re-establishment of international unity. The falsifiers of Marxism, who have distorted the "Communist Manifesto" to allege that the history of social progress is the history of the class struggle except during periods of war, have not only become generals without an army, but have ceased to be leaders altogether. They are nothing but charlatans, supported by the capitalist class, and animated by the intention of blinding the workers. But the stupor of the working-class is coming to an end. The salvation of the Russian proletariat revolution will come under the blows of international Imperialism.

The International being born at to-day's First of May holiday will, in virtue of its very essence, be neither the instrument of capitalist peace nor the weapon of capitalist war—despite Kautsky's deception of himself and of the masses. This International will itself be a new war—an international civil war; it will be the further guide and support of the Russian Socialist revolution.

We can understand impatience in expecting the international revolution. Revolutionary Russia has already done such a great deal towards the liberation of the workers of all countries, towards the international revolution, that the workers of the world will never be able to give it all the thanks that are due. But any admission of pessimism on the part of the proletariat of revolutionary Russia would be treachery after the manner of the western European Labor leaders.

May each of the First of May holidays serve as a living symbol! One of them—the holiday of Russian workers—victorious May Day—serves as a symbol or example of the beginning of the reign of Socialism.

The Western proletariat will not be able to evade its historical destiny: it must become revolutionary.

The May Day of 1918 will be the last of the series of dual First of May celebrations. It will be followed by the true May celebrations of the victorious, ruling proletarian class.

This May Day is not only a symbol, but a signal. It is the symbol of the existence of the International, the signal for the world-revolution.

The Broken Hill Strike

MR. EMERY AGAIN CHALLENGED.

In a recent circular letter to most of the newspapers in the Commonwealth, Mr. Cyril Emery, president of the Mining Managers' Association, in a wild and futile effort to defend the greatest set of industrial pirates in Australia, said: "Believing that your desire is that your readers should know the facts, I confidently submit this letter for insertion in your paper." We, the A.M.A., are actuated by the same desire as Mr. Emery, and submit the following facts:—

Dr. Maloney, M.H.R., speaking the Address-in-Reply in the House of Representatives, said: "Mr. W. J. Baillieu is a millionaire, reported to making his second million."

—Federal Hansard, March 17, 1920.

Mr. W. E. Baillieu is the Chairman of Directors of the biggest Broken Hill Mining Companies. There is no doubt that it is very comfortable for Mr. Baillieu to be making his second million.

We will now draw public attention to another tragic side of the picture of disease and death caused by working a few short years in the Broken Hill Mines, which Mr. Baillieu is managing directly.

The following members of the A.M.A. have died during the past fortnight from dread occupational diseases, and another has been sent to a reception home for the insane:—

March 28th, 1920.—Death.—Mr. A. Soper, died of Miners' Phthisis (Mining Consumption), on March 28.

Certificate of death states that Mr. Soper died of Miners' Phthisis.

March 28th, 1920.—Death.—Mr. J. Sampson died from Plumbism (Lead Poisoning).

Certificate of death states that Mr. Sampson died from the dread disease Plumbism (Lead Poisoning).

April 2nd, 1920.—Death.—Mr. David Duggan died from Plumbism (Lead Poisoning). His death certificate showed that Mr. Duggan died from Plumbism.

April 4th, 1920.—Death.—Mr. William Staker died on April 4th from Plumbism. Mr. Staker's death certificate stated Plumbism (Lead Poisoning).

March 29th, 1920.—Insane.—Mr. [Name] was sent to the Parkside Mental Hospital (Medical Certificate stated that Lead Poisoning had affected his brain). This man had been an inmate of the local hospital for three weeks previous to the above date.

Mr. Emery says in another portion of that inaccurate circular letter: "In a case the companies only desire is to arrive at the truth regarding the health conditions of the miners, and with that object in view they have undertaken to bear the expense of £15,500 of the investigation now being carried out on the spot by a technical commission appointed by the New South Wales Board of Trade."

Mr. Emery has evidently forgotten that the A.M.A. has been demanding this inquiry for the past 10 years, and that the Mining Companies have been forced into the position of having this inquiry by the A.M.A.

The companies and Mr. Emery take a lot of convincing on this health subject. "None are so blind as those who refuse to see."

Perhaps Dr. Burnell, Acting Superintendent of the Broken Hill Hospital, would assist Mr. Emery and the "companies" in their desire to find the truth.

Mr. Burnell states: "As I said before the men I do examine are generally chronically poisoned. To what extent others may be affected I do not know. I am right up to the hilt, though, as the results of the cases I know of, with those whose arguments are on the side of the contention that lead poisoning is prevalent and disastrous."

We have shown repeatedly that a small minority of mine-owners revel in every good, in whose production they take no part. And the Broken Hill Miners, consisting of thousands, are condemned to ill health, and nearly death; and their wives and families to a life of wretchedness and misery.

KARL MARX

By W. W. L.

Nationality.

Marx was born in the German City of Trier, on the 5th of May, in the year of our Lord, 1818. His parents were Jews, his father a prominent Jewish lawyer and his mother was of Hungarian Jew stock that had immigrated from Holland. In the light of the determinist philosophy we can only conclude that Marx would have been the first to admit that his chief reason for being what he was, was because of pre-determining causes. In other words, he had no choice in the matter. I am seeking to infer that it would have been of any advantage to have come of other stock. Seeing that he developed into one of the foremost scientists of age that produced several particularly brilliant intellects, we can only conclude that his environment was not fatal to mental development.

Early Years.

His early years seem to have been much the same as those of most schoolboys. He had a natural sense of humor and also no ill ability to attack and defend himself and his friends by writing cutting critical poetry.

He must have acquired a decidedly unusual character from his earliest youth, for we are told that he went through the universities of Bonn and Berlin, also studied law; having been subject to such handicaps as are afforded the developing mentality by university training and studying law, he was still able to accomplish his great life work of becoming the apostle of the proletariat, the carver—on the rocks of society—of the science of social economy.

The profession of Law had no particular attraction for our Marx, and we find studying History and Philosophy by choice and Law by necessity. He appears to have had at one time the ambition of becoming a professor of philosophy, but his ability as a pamphleteer had already commanded notice and his native energy and inclination led him into journalistic and literary spheres.

With his several journalistic ventures and political adventures I have not the space to deal here. Particulars of these and of this association with the Communist Alliance in Paris, the International Workingmen's Association in London, his expulsion from Brussels at the request of the Prussian Government, his joint work with his friend Engels in the production of the Communist Manifesto, which created such a furor in Europe at the time, and other works and labors preceding his final settling in London, I must refer readers to Liebknecht's "Karl Marx"—Biographical Memoirs—published by Chas. H. Kerr and Co., Chicago.

His Work.

One of his most important contributions to the philosophy of the proletariat was his systemization and clear definition of the Materialist Conception of History. This conception was not entirely original, but it had never before been presented to society in concrete form or simple language, and we cannot do better than repeat the words of his closest fellow-worker on this subject. Engels writes:—

"The first of the important discoveries with which the name of Marx is associated in the history of science, is his conception of the world's history. All conception of history previous to him is founded on the idea that the ultimate causes of all historic changes are found in the changing ideas of men, and again that of all historic changes the political are the most important, controlling the whole history. But whence these ideas are derived by men, and what are the moving causes of political changes nobody had ever inquired."

Marx, however, demonstrated that all history has been hitherto a history of class struggles, that all the numerous and intricate political struggles were carried on wholly for the sake of social and political supremacy of different classes in society; for the maintenance of the supremacy by older, for the establishment of supremacy by newer, rising classes.

"Through what agency, now, do these classes rise and exist? Through the pressure of those material and physical conditions under which the society of a given time produces and exchanges its means of subsistence. The feudal reign of the Middle Ages was based on the self-sufficient and almost exchangeless management of small farming communities, producing nearly all their own necessities and deriving from the warlike ability pro-

tection against external foes and national or at least, political, coherence. When the towns arose and with them a separate branch of skilled industry and a trade first confined to the home market, but later on waxing international, the civic element of the towns developed and, fighting the nobility, obtained even during the Middle Ages its admission as a likewise privileged class into the feudal order.

"But by the discovery of new lands the bourgeoisie obtained extended territory. . . . a new incentive to industry . . . made possible by inventions . . . especially the steam engine.

"Thus the bourgeoisie united more and more the social wealth and the social power in its own hands, though for a long time it still remained excluded from the political power which still rested in the hands of the nobility, and the monarch protected by the nobility. But at a certain stage—in France after the great revolution—it also conquered this power and now became in its turn the ruling class in opposition to the proletariat and the small farmer. Observed from this point of view, all historical transactions are very easily explained—with a sufficient knowledge of the contemporaneous economic state of society, unhappily wholly missing in our professional historians; and in a most simple manner the conceptions and ideas of a given historical period are explained by the economic conditions of existence during that period, and by the social and political conditions dependent on those economic factors. History for the first time was placed on its real foundation; the obvious fact, hitherto totally neglected, that first of all, men must eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, and therefore must work, before they can struggle for supremacy and devote themselves to politics, religion, philosophy, etc., this obvious fact at last found historical recognition."

I have quoted Engels rather fully for the simple reason that it would be almost impossible to frame a better synopsis of the interpretation of History known as the Materialist Conception and thereby give the casual reader an idea of the great work that Marx did in this all-important field of historical research.

Regarding his work in the department of science dealing with Economics, it is hardly necessary to call the attention of the student to his monumental work, "Capital." In this work we have a scientific analysis of the laws covering production and exchange. Subjected to the fiercest scrutiny and most minute analysis by embittered foes and hired defamers in all countries of capitalistic development, we find it standing immune from their attacks. Nobody can assail its scientific accuracy. Its messages to the proletariat—the most bitter messages ever yet conveyed to the ruling class—its slowly but surely permeating the heads of the worldwide working class. Borne on the wings of the irresistible progress of industry we have the message of the Marxian analysis that all wealth is produced by labor and by labor alone.

And ever since this historical pronouncement the flag of the international working class has been flying at the mast-head of social economy. Now in full sight, now obscured; sometimes hidden by the horrors of war, sometimes beclouded by the fog of fakirs; at times apparently completely forgotten, it still flies there and none may or can haul it down.

And with this message came another, and this one conveyed the Historical Mission of the Working Class. And in the light of this message we can see the day forthcoming, determined by the irrefutable laws of materialist and evolutionary industrial progress, when the working class will arise and there shall be no more working class; when Master and Slave shall be no more; when poverty and wars shall be as a dream of a forgotten past; when the machine shall be for the benefit of society and we shall have entered upon the next phase in the evolution of the human race.

Marx died as he lived—in the harness of the worker's social and political movement. With a few friends he had stirred Europe. With his own pen he had guided the struggling consciousness of the militant workers into correct channels.

Shall you, and I, who profess to know his message, carry on, or shall we temporise or compromise? Let us be up and doing. —"The Western Clarion."

The Materialist Conception of History

By FREDERICK ENGELS.

Translated for "The Proletarian," by Prof. J. I. Cheskis, of the University of Michigan.

(The letter printed below is interesting to students of Socialism as one of the instances that show how false is the charge of the superior persons of the Labor Party and others, of the "dogmatism" of Marx and Engels. It should also be remembered that a fight was being waged at the time the letter was written between the followers of Marx and the Anarchists of Germany, in which the latter were attempting to stretch some of the phrases of Marx and Engels on the Class War into a support of street fighting and barricades as the essential method of working class emancipation. Similar tales are sometimes told in this country, and it is a significant fact that every new translation of Marx's and Engels' writings shows still further the falsity of these tales, and how all through their propaganda it was the capture of political power they insisted upon, as the essential that the working class must rely upon for their escape from slavery. —Ed. Com., "Socialist Standard," Eng.

In the course of a discussion that followed a public lecture, given at a seminary, a student asked Engels to give him precise explanations of the two following points:—

1. To what extent do economic conditions act as a causative influence?

2. What part is played by the race and by the individual according to the "historical materialism" of Marx and Engels?

Engels replied:—

Lon., Jan. 25, 1895.
122 Regents Park Road, N.W.

Dear Sir,—Following is the reply to your two questions:—

1. The economic conditions, which we consider as the determinative basis in the history of society, we understand to be the manner in which men in a given society produce their means of subsistence and the ways in which they effect the exchange of products among themselves (this as long as division of labor exists). The entire technique of production and transportation is here included. According to our conception this technique determines the mode of exchange, or distribution of products, and—after the disintegration of the tribal system—the division of society into classes, the conditions of master and slave, of State, of politics, laws, etc. Further, among the economic conditions under which these phenomena obtain, must be included the geographical environment, and also the actual remains of former phases of economic evolution which often persisted by force of tradition, inertia, or because of circumstances which surrounds that form of society.

Even if, as you say, technique largely depends on the conditions of science, yet, in a greater measure, does the latter depend on the conditions of and the need for technique. If society is in the need of the development of a certain technique, this helps science more than ten universities. The science of hydrostatics was the sole result of the need that Italy felt in the 16th and 17th centuries of controlling the course of her torrents in the mountains. We began to understand the science of electricity only when we discovered its practical application. In Germany, however, they have become accustomed to treat the history of science as though it had fallen out of the sky.

2. We hold, that in the final analysis, economic conditions constitute the determinative factor in historical evolution. Here, therefore, we must hold in view two points.

(A). That the political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., evolutions are based on the economic evolution. They all react upon each other and upon the economic basis. It does not mean that the economic factor is the sole active cause and all the others merely passive effects. But the whole situation presents a mutual interaction among the various forces on the basis of economic necessity, which latter force ultimately prevails. The State, for instance, exerts an influence by means of protective tariffs, free exchange, good or bad revenue laws; and even the boundless stupidity and impotence of the German petty Bourgeoisie—which grew out of Germany's economic misery during the period from 1648 to 1830, and which first manifested itself in piety, then in sentimentality and fawning servility before the nobles and

princes—was not without its economic consequences. It was one of the greatest obstacles to the renaissance and was not shaken off until the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars made the economic wretchedness unbearable. History is not as some would imagine for the sake of their greater convenience, an automatic effect of the economic situation, but men themselves make their own history. Certain it is, however, that men act in accordance with the prevailing conditions that dominate their field of action. And among these the economic circumstances, however much influenced by political and ideological forces, are always of chief importance. In the final reckoning they constitute the decisive factor and form the golden thread which guides the student to the correct, all-comprehensive understanding of the subject.

(B). Men make their own history, but not as the result of a general volition nor in accordance with some general plan—not even in a given limited social group. Men's aspirations oppose each other. Out of this circumstance, in every similar group, arises an imperative need whose chance concomitant or accidentality is at once the complement and the form of its manifestation. The need or necessity which here underlies every chance appearance is in the end the economic necessity. The so-called great man appears. But the fact that it happens to be a certain great man, appearing at a certain time and at a certain given place, is simply mere chance. But if we eliminate him there arises an immediate demand for a substitute, and this substitute in time found, *tant bien que mal*. That Napoleon became a military dictator—of which the French republic, exhausted by civil wars, stood in need—was mere chance; but that in the event of Napoleon's non-appearance there would have been another to occupy his place is proven by the fact that in every instance in which there was such a need the man was found—Caesar, Augustus, Cromwell, etc. If it happened to be Marx who discovered the law of historical materialism, yet Thierry, Mignet, Guizot, who up to 1850 were writing English histories, proves that such a notion already existed, and the discovery of the same idea by Morgan further proves that the times were ripe for such an event and the discovery was an imperative need.

And so it is with every other true or apparent accidentality in history. The farther the field that we may be examining recedes from the economic, and the nearer it approaches the merely abstract ideologic, the more we shall find—in its evolution—such accidentalities appearing on the scene, and the more does the curve of its evolution fluctuate. If one should attempt, however, to trace the axis of this curve, one should find that the longer the time period observed and the larger the field thus treated, the more nearly does this axis run parallel to the axis of the economic evolution.

In Germany the great hindrance to a true understanding of these things lies in the inexcusable neglect of this subject by the writers of economic history. It is so difficult to rid oneself of the historical conceptions inculcated by schools, and still more difficult to collect the necessary materials. Who, for example, has read old J. V. Julich, who includes in his dry collections so many explanations of various political phenomena!

Moreover, it seems to me the beautiful example given us by Marx in his "Eighteenth Brumaire" furnishes a sufficient answer to your questions—the more so because it is a practical illustration. And I believe myself to have touched upon those points in "Anti-Duehring," I., chapters 9-11, II., chapters 2-4, and III., chapter 1, and also in the introduction and in the last chapter of "Feuerbach."

I would ask you not to pass judgment on this letter, but to consider only the thoughts it conveys. I am sorry I have not the time to write you with that exactness I should employ when writing for the public.

Kindly give my regards to Mr. —, and thank him for the . . . which has given me much pleasure.

With profound respect,
Most devotedly yours,

F. ENGELS.

The State and Revolution

By V. I. ULIANOV (N. LENIN)

A Brilliant Statement of the Marxian attitude on "Democracy,"
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The Secret of the League.—I

(By N. Bukharin (Editor of "Pravda").
(From the "Call," Eng.).

The old capitalist world, the whole capitalist world system, is shaken as it has never been before. The fate of the Gold Calf is in the balance, the holy fate of private property, stock exchanges, banks, the fate of stocks and shares, and dividends, and rents. The incredible confusion of the capitalist apparatus created by that lack of world economic organisation which has led to the war; the social catastrophe already begun; the Communist revolution, the uprising of the proletariat—it is the existence itself of capitalism which these have put in doubt.

It is certain that the capitalist world will make supreme efforts to preserve itself from complete collapse. Such efforts will be made in two directions:—(1) The organisation of world capitalism after having eliminated the colossal collisions between the different parts of the capitalist system (the equalisation of the Great Powers); (2) the crushing of the proletariat (the strangulation in common of the Communist revolution).

The final sinister effort of the capitalist world—the last innermost line of its defence—is the "League of Nations" of Wilson.

Economic and Military Conditions of the League of Nations.

A State of to-day is an organisation of financial capitalism in its highest form, in the form of State capitalism. One may, in fact, consider any great power whatever, as it represents not only the political, but also the economic organisation of capital, as "a State capitalist trust." The whole economic life of the world is ordered by such capitalist State trusts (Great Powers), with a number of other countries dependent on the Great Powers, who drain their resources away. The rivalry between such capitalist State trusts finds its expression in the imperialist war.

Everybody knows that ordinary trusts, competing among themselves, at a certain stage in their development and under certain conditions, will come to an agreement. Such agreements may be merely superficial and transitory, intended for the occasion only; but they may also be more stable (syndicates), and may result in the complete fusion of all the undertakings into a single trust.

The problem of the undertakings between Great Powers may be stated thus: Have the existing circumstances created the conditions necessary for the formation of a combine, of a syndicate, of a trust of the great capitalist trusts?

The first thing is to answer this question. So far we have had nothing which resembles a syndicate of all the Great Powers: nothing but groups of a part. There were two coalitions. Looking at their aims, the satisfaction of a passing need, one may compare them to provisional combines. Nevertheless, by their

organisation, "unity of command," general economic conferences, political plans in common, etc., they may be likened to syndicates. One of the two coalitions was conquered in the struggle for supremacy. This has transformed international rivalry. New conflicts are approaching: England-America, Japan-America, France-Italy, etc.

What will be the next grouping of the Powers?

Compromises between opponents are generally concluded where there is relative equilibrium between their forces. When one combatant party has the upper hand there is no reason whatever to compromise, for it can take by force without granting any share to its adversaries. From such a point of view, it must seem that there can be no compromises. The colossal superiority of the United States, which is strengthened no less economically and financially than militarily, does not admit of doubt. Nevertheless, the existing situation does much to reduce this superiority. The heavy weight of the remains of war, and the question of the immediate division of the booty, is pressing upon the Allies and America. It is in this question of the dividing of the spoil that the great possibilities of conflict are hidden. May there not immediately arise the occasion for a second world war? Leave aside for a moment the question of the social impossibility of a new war; let us look only at the economic and military conditions. It is clear that the favorable position of America will immediately create a block of all the Powers, including Japan, against America. All the European Powers now depend upon America, particularly economically. The exhaustion of Europe is such that without American exports (grain, raw material, machinery, chemicals, etc.) the industry of agriculture of Europe would be faced with disaster. America might conquer allied with Japan, but it is just with Japan that its relations are most strained. Besides, the growth of war industry in America, which was the purveyor of arms to the whole world, has threatened the economic life of the United States. Symptoms of exhaustion can be noticed in the country of the millionaires. Without time to respire and to recover, the capitalist world will disappear: the American tricksters understands that well.

The re-establishment of the capitalist world is not possible except through an

intensified acquisition of spoil. Colonies and semi-colonies must be pillaged full steam ahead.

Under such circumstances, an agreement between the master thieves is necessary; it is an assurance against their common downfall. Without it, the capitalist world will soon be at an end.

What will that agreement be?

It will be something intermediate between the provisional combine and the syndicate. Although the agreement will spring from the need to meet a special occasion, it will nevertheless have to provide for the division of markets according to a plan, and a participation of the spoil among the various capitalist State trusts.

In such a syndicate America will play the lead. The nations will be well received within the "league," as a big shareholder receives a small one whom he is going to swindle. By a similar "freedom of determination," France will itself be isolated in the League of Nations (it is exactly for this reason that the French policy declared for the system of the "equilibrium of Powers," and not for the "League"), while the United States will be able to enjoy the fruits of victory in "peace."

The attempt to remove the danger of a new and immediate declaration of war, which under the present circumstances would give the finishing blow to the capitalist regime, is therefore practically an attempt at the organisation of world capitalism.

(Concluded next week.)

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